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Forty-ninth Year

Provisional

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New York

President:	Mr. Al-Khussaiby	(Oman)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Cardenas
	Brazil	Mr. Sardenberg
	China	Mr. Li Zhaoxing
	Czech Republic	Mr. Kovanda
	Djibouti	Mr. Olhaye
	France	Mr. Mérimée
	New Zealand	Mr. Keating
	Nigeria	Mr. Ayewah
	Pakistan	Mr. Marker
	Russian Federation	Mr. Vorontsov
	Rwanda	Mr. Bizimana
	Spain	Mr. Yañez Barnuevo
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Norther Ireland	Sir David Hannay
	United States of America	Mr. Inderfurth

Agenda

The situation concerning Rwanda

Report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Rwanda (S/1994/640)

94-85734 (E)

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The meeting was called to order at 7.20 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation concerning Rwanda

Report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Rwanda (S/1994/640)

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Rwanda, document S/1994/640. Members of the Council also have before them document S/1994/684, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to the following other documents: S/1994/585, letter dated 17 May 1994 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Uganda to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council; S/1994/586, letter dated 16 May 1994 from the Permanent Representative of Rwanda to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council; S/1994/608, letter dated 23 May 1994 from the Permanent Representative of Israel to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General; and S/1994/648, letter dated 27 May 1994 from the Permanent Representative of Uganda to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I shall first call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. Olhaye (Djibouti): At the outset, Sir, I wish to congratulate you most warmly, on assuming the presidency the Council for this month. In view of your vast experience and abundant skills, I have no doubt that we are in good hands. I wish also to express my delegation's deep gratitude for the exemplary manner in which Ambassador Gambari of Nigeria conducted the Council's work last month.

My delegation has reviewed the latest report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Rwanda, which we have found relevant, informative and comprehensive. The findings of the Secretary-General's special mission to Rwanda by Assistant Secretary-General Riza and Major-General Baril, which provided the basis of the report, are likewise reflected in the draft resolution, seeking to direct the activities of the expanded United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR).

The Secretary-General states in his report, and we agree fully:

> "it is unacceptable that, almost two months since this violence exploded, killings still continue ... There is the danger that, if not stopped, this would lead to reprisals and counter-reprisals, setting off a prolonged cycle of violence." *(S/1994/640, para. 38)*

Make no mistake; this is the crux of the matter. The killings must be stopped now. If this is so, then it is abundantly clear that we are simply deceiving ourselves in emphasizing the human rights aspect of this tragedy, however stunning it is to us. No one will deny that highlighting the criminal, genocidal and human rights violation aspects of the situation is necessary, but as an approach to the ongoing situation in Rwanda it leads us to focus on a cure after the fact, rather than dealing with the real cause and necessary prevention of the disease. The decisive political and military aspects are receding into the background while a collective international hand-wringing takes place, seeking to assign blame for what has already taken place. Meanwhile, the death and dying continue at the totally unacceptable level of thousands of people per day.

If we have now nearly composed the authorized UNAMIR force, but expect to take some three to four weeks to begin to deploy it, we are looking not at three to four weeks, but at some tens of thousands more people who will die. Additionally, by sourcing the forces in one continent, one not inherently prepared for rapid mobilization and deployment or equipped for it, we have merely created a massive, multi-stage, time-consuming construct which can be activated only when all the players, at their own time and pace, agree to contribute their pieces.

Against the backdrop of this international indecisiveness, the objectives and the intent of the warring sides in Rwanda remain the same, and the fighting continues. If anything, the calls for a cease-fire in the present draft resolution are weaker than those in the previous one; that cannot fail to catch the attention of the Rwandan parties.

We cannot escape the fact that what is required is a firm and unequivocal demand by the Council to the parties that fighting must be stopped forthwith, coupled with measures which clearly show the Council's determination to back up this demand. We cannot continue to push the issues of security and peace into the background of human rights headlines, however well it may play at home for some of us. The reason we have this tragic human rights situation, with human beings dying every day in unacceptable numbers, is precisely that the fighting has been allowed to continue, and, with possible counter-offensives looming, it could grow even worse.

Simply creating more safe areas to protect the victims has become a diversion. We must suppress the factors that are creating victims, and this may come down to a question of the willingness and resolve of the international community to act meaningfully in this crisis. Who and what can make a real difference here? That is the bottom-line concern.

If there is a lesson to be learned from this incredibly violent episode, it may be that, as has been noted many times by a distinguished former senior official of the United Nations Secretariat, the United Nations must have a force not defined by national politics, a standing multinational force at the disposal of the Security Council. It is an unbelievable travesty for Rwanda to burn while the United Nations fiddles. The crime may lie, in fact, not in the violations of human rights and the killings, but in the fact that this can and perhaps will happen again, and we will be just as ill-equipped to deal with it then as we are now.

We have spent much time in organizing a response to the situation in Rwanda, and time is critical. My delegation, having noted its deep concerns, nevertheless supports the present draft resolution as a way to get things moving. We must once again appeal to the Rwandan parties on the basis of the effect it would have on them and their neighbours if they halted the killing and the destruction of their country and if they returned to the negotiations.

The President: I thank the representative of Djibouti for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. Kovanda (Czech Republic): Let me too congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the awesome office of President of the Council for this month, and also express appreciation, thanks and congratulations to your predecessor, Ambassador Gambari, who, supported by his very able team, did such a splendid job in leading the Council last month.

The draft resolution before us focuses on what more we can do to help mitigate the terrific carnage in Rwanda. This carnage, in its scale, is almost without precedent. This became clear soon after the massacres started in early April. My delegation had already described it in early May, from this seat, as genocide. And now, even the Secretary-General's report has concluded that "there can be little doubt that it constitutes genocide" *(S/1994/640, para. 36)*. My delegation is troubled that it has taken so long for the Secretary-General to use this description in his reports, on which the Security Council bases it work so heavily.

We are equally confused that even before the outbreak of the holocaust on 6 April, the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) and its representatives had been aware, for example, of inflammatory broadcasts on the local radio, of suspicious movements of armed groups and of an inflow of arms into Rwanda. My delegation feels that if these facts had been forcefully communicated to the Security Council as soon as the Secretariat became aware of them we might have been a step further today. As it is, we agree with the Secretary-General that the international community has reacted with, in his words, "extreme inadequacy" *(para. 43)* to the situation.

The Secretary-General plans to review the reactive capacity of the entire United Nations system, and we would propose that providing timely and unvarnished information might be of some help. Such information would help galvanize, rather than paralyse, the international community.

I used the word "holocaust" a moment ago, and one does not use that word lightly. But today, as we commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of D-Day, we reflect upon the Second World War as a war directed against a regime which became anathema to the civilized world precisely because of its having unleashed a holocaust. The regime in Rwanda has been attempting to

do something similar - with machetes instead of gas chambers; with the notorious *interhamwe*, comparable to the SS, with the Mouvement Républicain National pour la Démocratie et le Développmenent and the Comité Démocratique Républicain, comparable to the Nazi party. It was precisely to forestall the reemergence of such regimes that this Organization, the United Nations, was created almost 50 years ago.

Our draft resolution today focuses on what we will do next in the field, what UNAMIR will do to help alleviate the misery of the people of Rwanda. This misery was brought about by acts of genocide, reports of which we recall in the preamble. Genocide is a crime, and, to state the obvious, where there is a crime there are criminals. We recall that in resolution 918 (1994) the Security Council requested the Secretary-General to present a report on investigations of serious violations of international humanitarian law, which is bound, of course, to include genocide. Once this report is available, my delegation will want to look beyond the horizon of where we are going today, beyond the horizon of today's draft resolution. We might wish to request the Special Rapporteur for Human Rights to report directly to the Security Council about his findings. We might want to think about a fact-finding mission established by the Security Council itself. Certain Rwandan organizations might be found to amount to criminal organizations.

But right now, our efforts are directed at halting the carnage. There will be more work later connected with mitigating its consequences, with restoring law and order in the country, with the return of displaced persons and refugees, with building State structures, and so forth. This Council and a number of other organs and specialized agencies of the United Nations system will still have a lot of work ahead of them, and we will be ready to help as best we can.

The President: I thank the representative of the Czech Republic for the kind words he addressed to me and to the Nigerian delegation.

Mr. Sardenberg (Brazil): At the outset, Sir, I wish to express the congratulations of the delegation of Brazil upon your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of June. We are confident that under your competent stewardship our work will be conducted in an effective and efficient manner. You may count on the full cooperation of my delegation.

I also wish to express the recognition of the delegation of Brazil of the outstanding work performed by your predecessor, Mr. Ibrahim Gambari, and by his excellent team of associates, during the hectic and productive month of May.

The situation in Rwanda continues to horrify us. During the last two months, the resumption of military confrontation and widespread violence has generated a humanitarian crisis of appalling proportions. The insanity of the massacres and killings conducted in a systematic manner throughout the country has already claimed the lives of thousands and thousands of innocent civilians. In the wake of the unabated violence in Rwanda, according to the latest estimates, around 1.5 million persons have become internally displaced. In search of a more secure environment, another 400,000 Rwandese have been forced to cross the borders, seeking refuge in neighbouring countries. We remain deeply concerned at this unacceptable situation.

As part of the review we are undertaking of the situation in Rwanda, as called for in Security Council resolution 918 (1994), we have had the opportunity to discuss the expanded mandate of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) and the planned modalities for its deployment as recommended by the Secretary-General in his important report of 31 May 1994 (S/1994/640).

My delegation expresses its deep gratitude to Mr. Iqbal Riza, Assistant Secretary-General for Peace-keeping Operations, and to the Secretary-General's Military Advisor, Major-General J. Maurice Baril, for the work they undertook in particularly difficult circumstances during their special mission to Rwanda.

My delegation supports the draft resolution before us because the international community cannot stand still and allow the continuation of mass killings and an increase in the number of displaced persons and in the fears of threatened civilians. The Brazilian Government continues to believe that UNAMIR should seek to commence its tasks as expeditiously as possible, and that it should be appropriately staffed and equipped to meet its threefold mandate, which is to contribute to providing security and protection for displaced persons, refugees and civilians at risk, to provide security and support for the distribution of relief supplies and for humanitarian relief operations, and to develop all efforts to mediate and broker negotiations between the warring parties, not

only so that an immediate cease-fire can be reached, but also so that the peace process can be resumed.

We must all keep in mind that the parties in Rwanda must achieve a cease-fire urgently. This would not only contribute to alleviating the suffering of the civilian population but would also allow the peace process to be resumed. In this context, we welcome the fact that the Arusha Peace Agreement continues to be the basis for the peaceful resolution of the conflict in Rwanda. In this connection, we are very appreciative of the efforts undertaken by the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, and by the Organization of African Unity and the neighbouring countries. We strongly encourage them to pursue their constructive work towards a prompt resolution of the current conflict.

My delegation is also pleased that during the deliberations that resulted in the draft resolution we have before us the Council again put to use the non-binding criteria for the review of mandates of peace-keeping operations, set out in the presidential statement of 3 May 1994 (S/PRST/1994/22).

In order that these criteria should become the much-needed yardstick for peace-keeping operations, they ought to be implemented consistently, and with sufficient flexibility so as to accommodate unforeseen situations and ensure the effective discharge of the mandate of these operations.

This draft resolution is an essential step towards the measures the United Nations can adopt even before a cease-fire is achieved. Urgent action is required. My delegation will vote in favour of this draft resolution because we believe it capable of contributing decisively to the relief of the plight of millions of Rwandans and of responding to the urgent need to restore conditions for the prompt resumption of the peace process.

The President: I thank the representative of Brazil for his kind words addressed to me and to the delegation of Nigeria.

Mr. Ayewah (Nigeria): Sir, my delegation would like to extend its courtesies to you as you assume the presidency of the Council during the month of June. You may rest assured of the full support of the Nigerian delegation.

My delegation has always believed that the United Nations cannot and will not shirk its responsibility to the people of Rwanda. The international community is definitely sensitive to the mood of a people in travail. Unfortunately, that was not quite the impression that was created in resolution 912 (1994), at least in the eyes of the majority of the people outside this Council, when, at the peak of the Rwandan crisis, the strength of UNAMIR was drastically reduced from 2,500 to 270 men. The present draft resolution, and resolution 918 (1994) which preceded it, have enabled the United Nations to redeem itself and effectively resume its role of contributing to the security and protection of displaced persons, refugees and civilians at risk in Rwanda.

My delegation notes with grave concern the continuation of large-scale killings in Rwanda. It was long overdue for the international community to act, and it is right that it is doing so now by demanding an immediate halt to the carnage, a cessation of hostilities and a cease-fire. My delegation finds itself able to support the present draft resolution out of recognition that it is better late than never.

There is no doubt that the humanitarian situation in Rwanda represents a crisis of enormous proportions. The present draft resolution, which is essentially oriented towards the provision of humanitarian assistance in Rwanda, equally anticipates international participation in the political process in that country. This is desirable. We continue to believe that the Arusha framework provides a continuing viable basis for a political settlement of the Rwandan problem. We hope that the parties will enable the process to fructify and result in the desirable goal.

Now that a number of African countries have indicated their readiness to provide troops, we would hope that other countries outside the region will see their way clear to also contribute troops and, more importantly, logistical support. The Rwandan problem remains an international problem and must be addressed internationally. In this endeavour, the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity and the neighbouring States must act in concert and not in competition. But above all, the warring parties in Rwanda must recognize and accept the futility of a military option as a solution to the problem. They must return to the negotiating table. We wish them well.

The President: I thank the representative of Nigeria for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Marker (Pakistan): Permit me, Sir, to begin by extending to you the sincerest congratulations of my delegation on your assuming the office of the President of the Security Council for the month of June. You come from a country which is not only a neighbour of Pakistan, but with which we have enjoyed fraternal relations throughout history. You yourself, Mr. President, have a very wide circle of friends and admirers in Pakistan, where you served with great distinction and ability as the Ambassador of the Sultanate of Oman. My delegation is completely at your disposal and will fully cooperate with you in the discharge of your onerous responsibilities. We have been deeply impressed also by the skill and the wisdom with which Mr. Ibrahim Gambari, the Permanent Representative of Nigeria, conducted the work of the Council, together with his very able staff, during the month of May.

My delegation would wish to express its appreciation and warm thanks to the Secretary-General for his excellent report contained in document S/1994/640. We also express our deep appreciation for the splendid work performed by Assistant Secretary-General Iqbal Riza and Major-General Baril during their recent visit to Rwanda. Indeed, it is their findings and recommendations that have provided important inputs for the draft resolution which is now under the consideration of the Council.

The last resolution on Rwanda was adopted by the Council almost three weeks ago. During the intervening period, violence has unfortunately continued in that country. The only real hope appears to emanate from the cease-fire talks that the Rwandan parties are reported to have resumed. In the prevailing situation, it is imperative that the international community should not flag in its efforts to help restore normal conditions and political life in Rwanda. In this regard, my delegation is particularly grateful to all those States that have so generously offered troops for the refurbished United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda.

It is equally important that the logistics and other equipment required for these troops be made available most expeditiously. I should like to place on record the appreciation of my delegation to those countries which have made offers in this context.

My delegation is grateful to the Secretary-General for his incisive and frank report on Rwanda. We find the various points made by him compelling, and are in agreement with the recommendations. We are therefore happy that after some discussion the Council has been able to agree to extend the mandate of UNAMIR until 9 December 1994, and my delegation will therefore support the draft resolution which is before us.

The President: I thank the representative of Pakistan for his kind words addressed to me and to the Nigerian delegation.

Mr. Vorontsov (Russian Federation) *(interpretation from Russian):* First allow me, Sir, to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month and to assure you that you can count on the complete cooperation of the Russian delegation in the discharge of your weighty duties. The Russian delegation would also like to express its admiration for the Permanent Representative of Nigeria, Ambassador Gambari, who conducted the work of the Security Council last month. We are also grateful to Ambassador Gambari's associates for the great assistance they afforded to us in the Council.

The Russian Federation is profoundly concerned at the dire humanitarian situation in Rwanda: the killing of hundreds of thousands of people and the tragic lot of 1.5 million displaced persons and refugees. We are seriously concerned that, despite the efforts undertaken by the international community, the deliberate mass extermination of innocent people continues, and widespread hostilities run rampant. The ongoing human tragedy of Rwanda and its unprecedented scale require that the international community take urgent and effective action.

It is precisely for that reason that the Russian delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution before us. We acknowledge that the highly complex and, in many ways, rapidly changing situation in Rwanda dictates the need for a different approach - in particular, of flexible contingency planning. However, in the opinion of my delegation, the complexity of the situation in Rwanda increases the need for tighter control by the Security Council over the conduct of the operation in order to be able quickly to react and resolve problems that inevitably will arise during the course of its implementation.

In this context, we deem important the provision in the resolution pertaining to the periodic review of the situation in Rwanda on the basis of the reports of the Secretary-General. We also deem justified the provision that UNAMIR will not be used as a buffer force between the parties to the conflict. We take note of the

assurances of both Rwandese sides that they are prepared to cooperate with UNAMIR and we support the demand of the Security Council that both parties abide by these assurances since this is of key importance for the success of the operation. We are convinced of the need for further close coordination between the efforts of the Secretary-General and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and with the neighbours of Rwanda, which we believe, are far from having exhausted their capacity for exerting pressure on the Rwandese parties to bring about a speedy end to the senseless and enormous bloodshed, resolve the conflict and restore the peace process in Rwanda.

Seeking to make a contribution to the efforts of the world community that seek to overcome the dire humanitarian crisis in Rwanda, Russia has already sent to Tanzania a motorized division to supply food, medical supplies and other cargo to the Rwandese refugee camps. We are undertaking this humanitarian action in close cooperation with the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

The President: I thank the representative of the Russian Federation for the kind words addressed to me and to my predecessor, Ambassador Gambari, and his team.

Mr. Cardenas (Argentina) *(interpretation from Spanish)*: I take this opportunity, Sir, to express my delegation's pleasure at seeing you presiding over the Security Council this month, and our appreciation for the work accomplished last month by the delegation of Nigeria.

Similarly, we wish to express our thanks for the very complete and detailed report provided by the Secretary-General, which, enriched by the information provided by the special mission sent to Rwanda, makes it possible for us to evaluate further the situation there. The report describes a humanitarian crisis of enormous proportions to which the international community must respond diligently. In particular, we are alarmed by confirmation in the report that genocide has been committed in Rwanda. This crime, which is punishable under international law, must be investigated and those responsible cannot go unpunished. In this connection we commend the efforts of the High Commissioner for Human Rights and support the mandate of the Special Rapporteur for Rwanda - appointed by the Commission on Human Rights - in connection with the possible violations of human rights and of international humanitarian law.

The Security Council, aware of the need to act with utmost urgency and efficiency in the face of a tragedy of such magnitude, is about to consider a draft resolution which my delegation supports. The draft proposes the extension of UNAMIR's mandate, which was established in resolution 912 (1994) and extended in resolution 918 (1994) until 9 December 1994, and the endorsement of the Secretary-General's proposals for the flexible, phased deployment, of an expanded UNAMIR that will make it possible to deal with unforeseeable events which, given the characteristics of the situation, are highly likely to occur.

We must not lose sight of the fact that the effectiveness and success of this undertaking will depend on the availability of troops and equipment to the United Nations and, above all, on the sincere political will of the parties and their genuine cooperation with UNAMIR.

In this respect, we reiterate our appeal to all parties for a cessation of hostilities and an end to the slaughter of innocent civilians.

Lastly, we want to express our appreciation to the agencies, organizations and countries that have given humanitarian assistance to Rwanda in order to mitigate the pain of the civilian population and to those countries that are providing UNAMIR with troops and logistical support.

We also particularly commend the efforts of the Force Commander, Major-General Dallaire, to prevent the loss of more human lives and to achieve a cease-fire among the parties in particularly difficult circumstances.

In conclusion, we appeal to the international community as a whole to redouble its efforts and assistance to the people of Rwanda with a view to helping them overcome this enormous tragedy.

The President: I thank the representative of Argentina for the kind words addressed to me and to the delegation of Nigeria.

Sir David Hannay (United Kingdom): May I congratulate you, Sir, on the assumption of the presidency and thank Ambassador Gambari for the unfailing good humour and effectiveness with which he chaired the Council last month.

The Security Council has been required to handle many difficult issues in the past few years, but none has exceeded in its horror and its intractability the situation in Rwanda. There could not have been and never has

been any argument about the fact that in the hackneyed phrase "something must be done". But it has been far more difficult to identify what that "something" realistically should be and then to do it.

In the view of my Government, no praise can be too high for the existing small UNAMIR force, for the courage and adaptability they have displayed in appallingly difficult circumstances. The Force Commander, Major-General Dallaire, by his calmness and his resourcefulness has set an example in which the United Nations can rightly take pride.

The humanitarian mandate, which was agreed last month, and the decision we are about to take today for the deployment of 5,500 additional troops - a substantial number of whom have now been pledged by a range of African countries to which we offer our sincere gratitude - is a worthy and practical response to the situation, a response which tries to take account of the bitter lessons the United Nations had to learn in Somalia without at the same time being deterred from meeting the necessary obligations under the Charter.

The report of the Secretary-General was excellent. The concept of operations that he has now proposed and that we are about to endorse seems to us the right one. The key is to ensure flexibility and to allow the Force Commander to adapt to a changing situation on the ground.

The humanitarian situation throughout Rwanda is, of course, terrible. The crisis is huge; we see from the report that over a quarter of Rwanda's population is affected. In this context, we welcome the efforts of the non-governmental organizations, United Nations agencies and others to alleviate the suffering of the displaced persons and refugees. My own Government has already made a substantial commitment to those purposes.

The human rights abuses in Rwanda have already been referred to by many Ambassadors, but it would be wrong not to mention them again in this debate. It is entirely right that the High Commissioner for Human Rights has appointed a Special Rapporteur. It is highly welcome that the new High Commissioner for Human Rights took this up as one of the first tasks to which he addressed his new office.

There have now been some well substantiated accounts of the most appalling massacres, of acts that - we note the Secretary-General's conclusion - amount to genocide. It is good that he has made such a clear statement of his views on this, and we must not let the matter rest there.

Finally, I should say that in the view of my Government it is of the greatest importance that all neighbouring Governments and all those represented in this Council do their best to ensure strict compliance with the arms embargo. Of course, there are already far too many arms in Rwanda. Of course, much of the killing is being done with the most primitive weapons. Nevertheless, it is important to ensure that more weapons do not get in, do not provide more material for more deaths and more fighting, and do not prolong the strife that has already gone on for too long.

The President: I thank the representative of the United Kingdom for his kind words addressed to me and to my predecessor, Ambassador Gambari, and his delegation.

Mr. Yañez Barnuevo (Spain) *(interpretation from Spanish):* May I first, Sir, associate myself with those colleagues who have spoken before me in saying how pleased we are to see you presiding over our work, in which you may be assured of the complete cooperation of the Spanish delegation. I should also like to express our thanks to Ambassador Gambari of Nigeria for the very effective way in which he presided over our work last month.

The report of the Secretary-General of 31 May on the situation in Rwanda is certainly not a routine report. Based on the special mission by the Assistant Secretary-General for Peace-keeping Operations, Mr. Riza, and the Secretary-General's Military Adviser, General Baril, it is a document that is very moving in its details on the humanitarian situation in Rwanda and at the same time rich in ideas on how to face up to the situation from the point of view of the international community's duty to provide assistance.

In the Secretary-General's opinion, the massive and systematic killings of communities and families belonging to a particular ethnic group in Rwanda constitute genocide. The Foreign Ministers of the European Union said the same thing in their statement of 16 May.

In his report, the Secretary-General states that it is calculated that between 250,000 and 500,000 persons have been killed, and he also corroborates what the Security Council said in the statement of 30 April, when it indicated that the killings and murders had taken place

above all in areas under the control of members or supporters of the armed forces of the interim Government. The report of the Secretary-General also provides some very relevant details about radio broadcasts, especially on Radio Mille Collines, inciting people to violence and racial hatred.

The international community cannot stand idly by when faced with these facts, particularly in view of the binding terms of the 1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, which can be considered to form part of general international law.

Spain will vote in favour of the draft resolution, which extends the mandate of the expanded United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) for a period of six months, until 9 December, and establishes the modalities for its deployment. We shall do so because we believe that the draft resolution reaffirms the international community's active concern about the enormous humanitarian tragedy confronting Rwanda and the international community's commitment to find a solution to this unprecedented crisis.

We pay tribute to all the members of UNAMIR for their extraordinary work in particularly difficult circumstances, and assure them of our complete support.

The gravity of the situation in Rwanda requires that the international community redouble its efforts to put an immediate end to all the atrocities and disasters, promote a return to peace through agreement between the parties and provide humanitarian assistance to those who need it, as well as to determine the facts and to ensure that those responsible for crimes against humanity are brought to justice.

In that connection, we emphasize that with the adoption of the draft resolution we shall not have brought to an end our consideration of the situation in Rwanda on the basis of the report submitted by the Secretary-General. Indeed, my delegation believes that the time has come to prepare for the establishment of an international commission of experts to examine and analyse all available information about the grave violations of international humanitarian law committed in Rwanda, in order to meet the concern expressed by the Secretary-General in paragraph 10 of his report, where he states:

> "only a proper investigation can establish the facts and definite culpability, but the efficacy of such an exercise diminishes as time weakens evidence and disperses living witnesses."

That initiative would be carried out separately from the important work initiated by the Commission on Human Rights with the appointment of a Special Rapporteur for Rwanda. We praise the efforts of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, Ambassador Ayala Lasso, who visited Rwanda and denounced the grave violations of international human law and drew the attention of the international community to this grave situation.

Finally, my delegation would like to state the horror of the Spanish Government at the atrocities and sufferings to which the civilian population of Rwanda have fallen victim and its determination to do everything in its power to put an end to a situation that cries out to the conscience of us all.

The President: I thank the representative of Spain for his statement and for his kind words addressed to me and to my predecessor, Ambassador Gambari, and his delegation.

I now put to the vote the draft resolution contained in document S/1994/684.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, Brazil, China, Czech Republic, Djibouti, France, New Zealand, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Rwanda, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 925 (1994).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. Keating (New Zealand): Let me begin by congratulating you, Sir, on assuming the presidency of this Council for the month of June. We look forward to working with you and the members of your team. I would also like to thank very warmly Ambassador Gambari and the members of the Nigerian delegation for the excellent work they did for us all during the month of May.

I also wish to express my thanks and congratulations to Assistant Secretary-General Riza and Major-General Baril for the excellent work which they did as the Secretary-General's Special Mission to Rwanda. The product of their work on that mission has provided the meat for the resolution we have just adopted.

New Zealand very warmly welcomes the adoption of this resolution today. Its adoption will enable the Secretariat and the countries contributing troops and equipment for the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) to move ahead speedily with the deployment of the expanded force.

It is important, however, to remember the history of today's resolution. As I said at the time we adopted resolution 918 (1994), almost four weeks ago, we were very disappointed that that resolution, adopted against the background of horrific reports of human brutality, approved only a tentative first phase of the expanded United Nations presence in Rwanda. We would have much preferred for the Council to have taken, in that resolution, the step that it has taken today and approved the whole concept of operations proposed by the Secretary-General in his earlier report.

We believe that the tentativeness displayed by the Council in adopting resolution 918 (1994) sent a very confused signal, both to potential troop-contributing countries and others, about the Council's commitment to the idea of an expanded UNAMIR. And as we think subsequent events have shown, that signal had the result of delaying decisions by troop-contributing countries to commit themselves to the operation.

In this connection, however, we do want to express our very warm appreciation of the willingness shown by a number of countries from Africa to contribute troops, notwithstanding that "orange light". We would also like to express appreciation to those other countries, such as the United States, which have made very significant offers of assistance with equipment and logistics.

It is particularly welcome that this resolution ends the doubt about the determination of the Council to do what is necessary for Rwanda. This resolution gives effect to the Council's wish that UNAMIR should deploy as soon as possible to provide security for Rwandans at risk and for essential humanitarian relief operations. In New Zealand's view, it is very important that this resolution also states clearly the Council's grave concern at the genocide that has taken place in Rwanda.

The systematic killing of thousands upon thousands of innocent civilians has characterized the terrible violence in Rwanda. There is no doubt in our minds that genocide has occurred, and it is significant that at last the Council has formally recognized this.

New Zealand also welcomes very much the recognition given in this resolution to the importance of close cooperation between UNAMIR and the activities of the United Nations High Commissioner on Human Rights and the recently-appointed United Nations Special Rapporteur for Rwanda. Reconstruction of Rwandan society on the basis of respect for human rights will be an important task for the future, and the United Nations must be equipped to support the people of Rwanda in this effort.

It is auspicious that this resolution has been adopted on a day when the parties have resumed their cease-fire talks. We cannot stress too strongly the importance of the parties' ceasing the appalling and unnecessary hostilities immediately and honouring their assurances to cooperate with UNAMIR in carrying out its mandate. We demand that they agree to a cease-fire and work hard and urgently to find a peaceful solution to the violence which has engulfed their country.

But we are conscious that even if a cease-fire were to come, UNAMIR would be operating in an unstable and very dangerous environment. It is important, therefore, that this resolution has reiterated the fact that UNAMIR has the authority to act robustly in defense of its mandate and can take forceful action against militias or anyone else who threatens protected sites and populations.

In conclusion, I would like to make a few comments on the remarks contained in the final section of the Secretary-General's report. Members of the Council will recall that the Secretary-General says that the delay in the international response to the genocide in Rwanda demonstrated the inadequacy of the international community's system for responding to crises of this nature.

We endorse the Secretary-General's assessment that the system requires review to strengthen its reactive capacity. One obvious deficiency in the system is the lack of an appropriate mechanism within the Council for proper discussion of the concerns that led to the decision in resolution 918 (1994) to delay authorization of the full force for Rwanda.

We understand fully the concerns of those Council members and potential troop-contributing countries who sought greater clarity in the concept of operations that was being proposed for the expanded force in Rwanda. The questions that were being asked were important ones and they deserved answers, but we had no forum for discussion of such hands-on issues.

My delegation believes that recent history in the Council has demonstrated many times that the informal consultations of the Council do not provide an appropriate forum for Council members to explore with the Secretariat at the necessary working level the important but technical issues involved. Nor are bilateral discussions between individual Council members and the Secretariat a satisfactory alternative, because they do not permit the necessary interchange of ideas between a range of Council members.

Thus, in the absence of a resolution of these important kinds of issues, in the tragic case of Rwanda the Council was forced to temporize. That was bad for the United Nations and very bad for the people of Rwanda.

We consider that the proposed review of the United Nations system for responding to crises like that in Rwanda must address this and other kinds of structural deficiencies. New Zealand has made specific proposals to address these kinds of issues on two occasions in the past 12 months, first informally and more recently formally, during New Zealand's presidency of the Council in April. Document S/PRST/1994/22 of 3 May 1994 records that it was not possible to reach agreement on measures to improve the Council's management of peace-keeping operations. But it was decided that the Council would keep this issue under review.

In the light of the comments made by the Secretary-General in his report, New Zealand will indeed ensure that this process of review is actively followed up.

The President: I thank the representative of New Zealand for the kind words he addressed to me and to my predecessor, Ambassador Gambari, and his delegation.

Mr. Ladsous (France) *(interpretation from French):* Allow me first, Sir, to convey to you my delegation's congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month, and to convey our thanks to the representative of Nigeria, Ambassador Gambari, and his team for the way they conducted the business of the Council last month.

The Council's adoption of resolution 925 (1994) provides a glimmer of hope for Rwanda. The resolution spells out the modalities for the deployment of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR), the strengthening of which was decided upon by resolution 918 (1994). Now it must be implemented as soon as possible. Hence, we welcome the announcements by several countries with respect to making troops available to the United Nations or to providing those troops with the equipment they need. France reaffirms that it is ready to contribute towards equipping the African battalions that are to be deployed.

My delegation welcomes the decisions taken by the Secretary-General. We thank the members of the mission dispatched to the field, which carried out useful work towards the effective implementation of the Council's resolutions. Once more we pay a tribute to the Force Commander for the important role he has played; in an extremely difficult situation, he has tirelessly pursued his mediation efforts between the Rwandese parties. My country considers that the assurances given by the Rwandese parties that they will cooperate with UNAMIR in the implementation of the Council's resolutions constitute an encouraging element. Those commitments must now be honoured.

My Government stresses that, while the priority objective is a humanitarian one, we must not forget that only a political solution can restore lasting peace and stability to Rwanda. The United Nations must play its part in implementing the peace process, which must fall within the framework of the Arusha Peace Agreement. My delegation recalls that there can be no military solution, and we urge the Rwandese parties to heed the voice of reason and tolerance, to conclude a cease-fire agreement and to resume the dialogue that must lead to national reconciliation. France also supports the diplomatic efforts of the countries of the region in support of the peace process in Rwanda, and urges them to continue those efforts.

All of the testimony, as well as the report of the Secretary-General, makes overwhelmingly clear the magnitude of the humanitarian tragedy in Rwanda. It is intolerable that massacres and what can only be described as genocide should continue; those responsible must be brought to justice. Human rights must be respected. In that connection, my delegation considers that the visit by the High Commissioner for Human Rights, Mr. Ayala Lasso, was of great importance. We also welcome the appointment of a special rapporteur for Rwanda by the

Commission on Human Rights. My country has taken extraordinary measures to help the victims of the conflict, displaced persons and refugees in neighbouring countries. We intend to continue and to increase that assistance.

France is determined to continue to promote the Security Council's consideration of the situation in Rwanda and to seek a solution that will put an end to the suffering of the Rwandese people and restore peace and stability to the country.

The President: I thank the representative of France for the kind words he addressed to me and to the delegation of Nigeria.

Mr. Li Zhaoxing (China) *(interpretation from Chinese):* Since the adoption of Security Council resolution 918 (1994), the situation in Rwanda has seen further deterioration. The humanitarian situation remains grave. Like other delegations, the Chinese delegation cannot but express its deep concern.

In order to seek an early solution to the crisis in Rwanda, the Chinese delegation supports the continued presence in that country of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) and its performance of its proper role, so as to alleviate the suffering of the Rwandese people, to help the Rwandese parties to the conflict reach a cease-fire at an early date and to bring about national reconciliation within the framework of the Arusha Peace Agreement, eventually leading to peace and stability throughout the country. Based on that position, the Chinese delegation voted in favour of the resolution just adopted.

The United Nations Charter contains explicit provisions on the mandates of the Security Council, the General Assembly and other United Nations organs. These bodies should earnestly carry out the respective mandates entrusted to them by the Charter. The Security Council should therefore refrain from involvement in activities that go beyond its mandate. It is our consistent position that the Security Council should work in line with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and with the relevant mandates. We are not in favour of willfully linking the work of the Council with that of other organs. Therefore, we wish to express our reservations on the resolution's elements relating to the human rights rapporteur.

Mr. Inderfurth (United States of America): It is with great pleasure, Sir, that I add my congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Council. I am sure that you will tackle the challenges awaiting us during the month of June with great diplomatic skill. You will have our full support and assistance in that endeavour. I would like to convey our appreciation to your predecessor, Ambassador Gambari of Nigeria, for the excellent way in which he and his delegation acquitted themselves in dealing with the many difficult tasks with which the Council was confronted in May.

I would be seriously remiss if I did not also thank the Secretary-General and those most responsible for producing the report of 31 May which led to the resolution we just adopted, namely Assistant Secretary-General Riza, Major-General Baril and Major-General Dallaire. The personal courage and dedication displayed by these three men and all the other brave people labouring to contain the cataclysm that has shaken Rwanda is to be greatly commended.

The report of the Secretary-General has addressed the questions the Council posed in resolution 918 (1994). While the answers may not be as positive as one might have hoped, we are all striving together to do our best to improve a truly horrifying situation. We hope that the actions of the international community will be effective in stopping the killings and protecting innocent civilians, bringing the belligerent parties to a cease-fire, urging a resumption of negotiations and speeding delivery of humanitarian assistance. In our attempt to reach these objectives, we felt that it was necessary to define the mandate of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) as precisely as possible, keeping in mind the factors enumerated in the Council's presidential statement of 3 May 1994, and staying within the limits of available resources. We do not want there to be any confusion about UNAMIR's tasks. We believe the resolution just adopted clearly reaffirms UNAMIR's mandate. Clarity in defining the mission and its duration are inescapable factors which must be taken into account in all the Council's deliberations.

We note with satisfaction that the two parties have begun cease-fire negotiations. We hope this effort will continue in good faith, and will reach a successful conclusion soon. In the meantime, however, there is no cease-fire in effect and no comprehensive agreement among the parties involved in the Rwandan conflict, or with the United Nations. In those circumstances, the activities described in the Secretary-General's report might be considered to involve enforcement actions. We believe it is important that troop contributors be made

fully aware of the military mission and the anticipated environment.

Further, UNAMIR's military units must be provided with the equipment and rules of engagement to execute successfully the assigned mission to defend themselves and to provide basic protection for threatened persons and security for the delivery of humanitarian relief. The Council, to that end, has included in this resolution a reaffirmation that UNAMIR may be required to take action in self-defence.

My Government stands firmly behind UNAMIR's involvement in Rwanda. To this end, we have recently signed the necessary papers to lease 50 armoured personnel carriers to the United Nations for use in Rwanda. We strongly urge all countries with equipment or troops available to contribute whatever possible to the United Nations in Rwanda, and we extend our appreciation to those that have already made firm offers. In addition to the APCs I have just mentioned, the United States Department of Defense, through its Office of Humanitarian and Refugee Affairs, has supported 37 flights carrying 650 tons of refugee relief supplies. With $3 million from the Defense Emergency Response Fund, United States Air Force C-141 transport aircraft flew 19 flights from Turkey and Dubai to deliver UNHCR supplies, medicines and trucks to Tanzania. The Defense Department contracted with civilian carriers for 18 flights carrying Red Cross supplies from Kenya to Burundi. An airlift involving 41 flights to transport 1,650 tons of grain and cooking oil from Tanzania to Burundi began on 1 June 1994. I will not go into the details of what other, humanitarian, branches of my Government have donated to the refugees in the area and to the task of cleaning up the bodies in Lake Victoria, but nearly $100 million in total has been allocated to various relief efforts in and around Rwanda.

The Security Council has a responsibility, when sending troops into unpredictable situations, to ensure that those troops will not be willfully mistreated. To that effect, we firmly support paragraph 12. Taking that idea even further, we believe it is unacceptable for any UNAMIR or other United Nations personnel to be detained, under any circumstances, while performing their duties in Rwanda, or to be denied any of the protections equivalent to those contained in the Geneva Convention Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War.

We are deeply distressed at reports that the inflammatory broadcasts of Radio Mille Collines, which are described in the Secretary-General's report and which have played a contributing role in the acts of genocide reported in Rwanda, continue. We demand that the responsible parties take the necessary steps to bring these broadcasts to an immediate halt.

Finally, as others have stated, it has been two months since this crisis erupted. The international community has been appalled by the tragedy that has unfolded in Rwanda, the thousands upon thousands who have died, the thousands upon thousands who have lost their homes and livelihoods and who are today in desperate need of assistance from the world community.

We all have a role to play in meeting this humanitarian emergency. This resolution, and the solemn commitment it represents on behalf of the Security Council, will aid in this task.

The President: I thank the representative of the United States for his kind words addressed to me and to my predecessor, Mr. Gambari, and his delegation.

Mr. Bizimana (Rwanda) *(interpretation from French):* By the resolution just adopted, the Council has endorsed the proposals made by the Secretary-General for the deployment of the expanded United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR). The Council has also extended its mandate until 9 December. That was a highly commendable action. But it is regrettable that since the outbreak of the tragic events in Rwanda, beginning on 6 April 1994, the reaction of the international community has not matched the magnitude of the tragedy in Rwanda.

After almost a month, the first phase of the deployment of the strengthened UNAMIR, which had undergone a regrettable and very harmful reduction, has not even begun. It is with relief, therefore, that today we welcome the proposal of the Secretary-General aimed at the immediate deployment of the two additional battalions in phase 2 in close synchronization with phase 1, as well as the continuation of urgent preparations for the deployment of the two battalions envisaged for phase 3.

In this context, we pay tribute to the countries that have agreed to supply troops and material assistance, logistic and other, needed to enable UNAMIR to contribute to the security and protection of displaced persons, refugees and civilians in danger, as well as to ensure the security of the humanitarian assistance operations and to help bring about a cease-fire.

Moreover, we also wish to express gratitude for the actions of States, United Nations agencies and international and non-governmental organizations providing humanitarian assistance to relieve the sufferings of the several thousands of displaced persons, both inside Rwanda and in neighbouring countries.

Here, we agree with the order of priorities indicated by the Secretary-General, when he says that the first task is to organize humanitarian relief operations, the ultimate aim, obviously, being to enable the displaced persons to return to their homes. To achieve that end, the creation of adequate security conditions is indispensable. They involve stopping acts of violence throughout the country and the establishment of a cease-fire.

It is in this context that we associate ourselves with the message conveyed by the Council when it demands the cessation of hostilities, the conclusion of a cease-fire and the immediate halt of the massacres, which we strongly condemn.

Furthermore, we are firmly convinced that any solution to this crisis in Rwanda must be based on a political settlement, for which the Arusha Peace Agreement constitutes the framework for the resumption of dialogue.

Now that this resolution has been adopted by the Council, it is up to the international community to implement it with the sustained determination that is vital to relieve the suffering of the Rwandese people.

The President: I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of Oman.

My delegation has emphasized on several occasions in the discussions of the situation in Rwanda that it is crucial for the conflicting parties in Rwanda to achieve a cease-fire and resume political dialogue with a view to implementing the Arusha Peace Agreement, which constitutes a suitable framework for bringing the ongoing conflict in Rwanda to an end.

It is regrettable that, despite the fact that two months have passed since the outbreak of the current violence in Rwanda, the killings and the massacres continue unabated and the tireless efforts of the Secretary-General's Special Representative, the UNAMIR Force Commander and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) to bring about a cease-fire between the two parties have been to no avail. We hope that today's meeting on a cease-fire will be a success and will be a major step in trying to ease the suffering and pain of the Rwandan people.

It is encouraging, however, that both the interim government and the RPF have expressed their conviction that peace in Rwanda can only be achieved by a political settlement. We therefore urge the two parties to translate their words into deeds by taking effective steps to stop the killings and cease all forms of hostility for their own benefit and for the benefit of the Rwandan people.

The resolution we have just adopted, which endorses the Secretary-General's recommendations on the deployment of the first and second stages of UNAMIR in close synchronization and extends UNAMIR's mandate for six months, reflects the Council's concern over the deteriorating situation in Rwanda. Its importance also stems from the fact that it is a step further in the direction which the Council initiated by adopting on 17 May resolution 918 (1994) aimed at alleviating the human suffering caused by the conflict in Rwanda.

In the light of the humanitarian and urgent nature of UNAMIR's task in Rwanda, my delegation wishes to see prompt deployment of the troops. In the mean time, we appeal to the conflicting parties to heed calls for them to exercise maximum self-restraint and to cooperate with UNAMIR in order to facilitate its tasks.

Finally, my delegation commends the efforts of the United Nations and non-governmental agencies to extend humanitarian assistance in very difficult circumstances to the Rwandan people.

We also commend the tireless efforts of OAU and the neighbouring countries in attempting to put the peace process back on track. We would like to pay tribute to those African States that have so boldly come forward with troops. We hope that other States will also help in providing troops and equipment, and we are very grateful to all those countries that have already done so.

The Rwandan crisis is difficult and very complicated; it is the product of centuries of ethnic conflict. Therefore, its resolution might take a long time and extraordinary efforts. Hence, it is crucial that the international community does not forsake the innocent civilian people of Rwanda. On the contrary, we should continue to do all that we can to alleviate their suffering and bring peace and stability back to that country.

My delegation voted in favour of the resolution because the gravity of the situation demands joint efforts by the international community to try to save the lives of the people of Rwanda. We hope that this resolution will now open a new chapter with regard to the tragic situation in Rwanda.

I now resume my functions as President of the Council.

There are no further speakers on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The meeting rose at 8.45 p.m.